1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

/Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally. There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

585 [159] [183] then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that place and get us some meat.'

The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

585 881 [174] Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

[171] About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the [174] menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

585 821 The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli |gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride 593 585 is shielded from it.

602 The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[113] [1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 25. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. /Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958.

[5 cont.]

173 the Oldoway race as one of its carriers, the presence of a Eurafrican racial element from oldest times on may be regarded as certain also for South Africa. The carriers of this hand-ax industry, who, I am convinced, already carried on a kind of plant cultivation and were tied essentially to the forested zones, were later followed by a group of peoples and races with definite flake industries. Among these we may include the Katanga race and the other Australiform finds. A new wave of Eurafrican racial elements was brought by the carriers of the blade industries of the
174 Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Even today we are still unable to determine when the Bushman races adopted a Stone Age industry or even when they entered the country. Just as racially
[144] the Bushman incorporated remnants of all the preceding races or
[184] those that at one time existed side by side with them (Europoid -- Australiform), so their culture, varying from tribe to tribe, likewise constitutes a unity only in its optimal adaptation to the conditions of the environment. In its individual traits, on the other hand, it represents a residual culture whose stability depends on a selection intentionally and purposively carried out, and which resulted from foreign cultures from the Old Stone Age up to the present.

Chapter 1

The Bushmen of Angola

105 We are indebted to D. F. Bleek (1) for most of the data

[113]

1. D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," Bantu Studies, Vol. III, No. 2, 1928 Johannesburg. Further, Archiv für Anthropologie, 1930.

concerning the Angola Bushmen. The Bushmen are !Kung. The men are 159.3 (145.5-170) centimeters tall, the women 148.8 (135-161.3) centimeters. They live between the Msuma in the north, the Lomba in the south, and between Okawango and the

[16 cont.]

131 the one hand, to the Okovanggo and the regions inhabited by the Bamangwato [Ngwato] west of Ngami Lake on the other hand, are inhabited by the tribes of the !Kung group.

Seiner (2) supplies the following apt division of this zone:

[113]

2. Mitteilungen aus Deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1914.

"The !Kung Veld forms the part of the Omaheke belonging to the northern Kalahari and is located between the Okovanggo (from Kagere to 19° southern latitude), the Kaukau Veld, the Sand Veld, the Karst Veld, the Etosha Pan, and the Otjimpolo Veld. -- The Kaukau Veld (according to Passarge, a plateau) is located between the Kung Veld, the Okovanggo, the Okovanggo basin, and the Sand Veld district. As the western boundary, in other words, toward the Sand Veld, the line Bogara -- Debra -- Blue Bush Pan in the western tip of the Okovanggo basin, close to the German border, should be adopted. The northern Sand Veld, through which I have traveled, can be delimited on the west by the line Nuragas -- Otjituo and by the valley of the Omatako from Otjituo to Okahitua; on the south by the line Okahitua -- Okosondusu -- Otjosonjou -- Epata -- Epukiro -- Rietfontein-East; on the east by the border zone of the Chanse Veld, the Okovanggo basin, and the Kaukau Veld. For the
137 northern boundary toward the Kung Veld, the factors of climate and plant geography must be taken into consideration, since there is no natural boundary here; the line Bogara -- Kanovlei -- Nuragas approximately forms the northern boundary of the Kalahari bush of the central Kalahari, which is sharply differentiated from the dry forest of the northern Kalahari. -- The loose,
[134] deep, leached steppe sand bears for the most part a tall, light xerophytic dry forest, usually with no underbrush and with deciduous trees that, as a result of the quantities of water stored in their root stalks and trunks, bear green leaves during the greater part of the dry season, and in part even bear blossoms and fruit during this season; this dry forest is a formation of
[134] relatively recent date. The vegetation of the firm, gray-humus, loamy river sand, or of the looser sand with ample ground

[17 cont.]

144 obvious, and the southern Bushman race, that is, the one that displays the characteristics generally ascribed to the Bushmen as a whole, is found to be pure only to a modest degree which increases toward the south. In the north, the !Kung Bushmen are decidedly forest people, whereas in the Sand Veld they inhabit the shadeless low bush. The surface of the region consists of areas of whitish sand, red toward the east and north, which is streaked with strips of surface chalk. Along the Omuramba Omatako and parallel to it there are pseudo-dunes running north-northeast -- south-southwest and covered with dense thorn bushes. On the more clayey soils in the vicinity of the Omurambas [perhaps a local term for "rivers"] there is denser tropical dry forest. A reminder of more humid times is provided by three or four giant baobab trees that are dying.

137 184 134 137

Ludwig Zukowsky (1) reports on the fauna and flora:

[113]

> 1. "Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Säugetiere Deutschsüdwestafrikas [Contribution to the Knowledge of the Mammals of German Southwest Africa], " Archiv für Naturgeschichte, Vol. 90, No. 1, Part A, 1924.

137 [136]

"The Kung Veldt, a large deciduous broad-leaf forest region, bounded in the north by the Okovanggo, in the east by this river's flood area, in the south by the Dusche and Schadum, and in the west by the lower course of the Omuramba u'Omatako, is regarded by J.H. Wilhelm as a special faunal region, since here the most striking representatives of the Sand Veld, oryx, oribi, bubalis, guevei [blue duiker], and canis are absent and in their place new forms appear, such as damaliscus, schaeffia [?], and hippotragus. Red sand dominates the entire region, which is covered with sereng [Burkea africana], red bean trees [Copaifera coleosperma], mokussi (Baikiaca plurijuga), yellowwood [Terminalia sericea], dolf [Therocarpus erinaceus], and wild orange trees (Strychnos schumanniana). During the rainy season, when the trees are covered with leaves, the deciduous forest that covers the entire region remotely resembles a younger German beech forest. The chief tree is the sereng (Burkea africana) with its accompanying tree, the mokussi

/19 cont./

162 165 In the age group of five to ten years, the number remains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number [123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

/20/ Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in

[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman [131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief 133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika /Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa/, Berlin, 1906.

648 621 622 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

[24 cont.]

000 522 161 they had never seen any. A certain dry humor spiced their conversation. I once said to a Bushman: "If you tell me this, you will get whatever you want." He answered: "Good, I shall speak and you will give me your automobile." Their imagination is very poor; in this respect they are much too accurate as observers of nature. Once a young Bushman woman with two children came to me and wanted to buy some sugar. I said to her: "I won't sell you anything, but you will get the sugar if you tell me some children's stories, for example, about animals." After some hesitation she began the story of Arri, the guinea hen. It was no fairy tale, but a detailed account concerning this important food bird. She even imitated the calls of the guinea hen, "for example, when someone comes and there is danger, then they say, 'gannana he gannana he,' but when they are alone and enjoying themselves, then they go 'gi gi gi.'" The children had to imitate this until they were able to mimic the sound accurately. Then it was the turn of the sand hen, which says, "gi ganna gi ganna"; then the ostrich, which goes, "hmm, hmm, hmm"; then the gum bird [Harzvogel], which says, "hai-dschi, hai-dschi," and the owl, "mhm, m."

157 123 [530] [861]

3. Posture, Movement, Stamina

516 As a result of his marked lordosis, the Bushman never assumes a posture that would conform to our military ideal; he almost always stands with his stomach somewhat protruding.

481 The way the Bushmen run is very peculiar and would justify detailed study. [25] The run is really a continuous fast walk, in which the legs are kicked forward, but the lower thighs are never brought back high, as is the case with our runners. The body is held as straight as possible, and the head up, not forward (1).

[113]

1. E. v. Eickstedt (Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit [Ethnology and History of Mankind], p. 556) states: "The foot is put in a peculiar transverse position, which makes the track in the sand easily

!KUNG

[27 cont.]

221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this
[648] time run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In
[731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All
[423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the
[583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

[114] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not
224
584
[113]

1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

1 [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

[28 cont.]

224 584 a gemsbok) until it is tired and then drives it to the vicinity of the hut of his intended. The pursuit of such a large antelope is not as difficult as it looks, for these ruminants are seized with serious cramps if they are not given time to settle down to ruminate. In other words, the pursuit of such a large antelope simply involves continually disturbing the animal for a long period of time. Then the young man calls to the people and asks them for weapons. All of them leap up, and the girl, too, stands up and watches as her people run with the spears. The hunter kills the game before her eyes. Then they bring the meat and cook it, and the girl says: "That is a courageous hunter; I want to marry 584 him." It is not unusual, however, for a young man to marry far away from his relatives, without having asked for the consent of his parents. In that case, the young woman must stay with her parents while the husband returns home and reports the marriage to his parents. The latter say: "How can you do this, when we don't know whether it will turn out all right?" The husband, however, says: "I have already done it, and I am merely telling you." Thereupon the parents answer: "Well, it's all right."

[591] Then the husband returns to his young wife, or to her kin group and brings his wife and child to his own kin group, where they are received. According to Vedder (Tsumeb), the young man sends a messenger with a piece of game to the father of the girl of his choice. If the father accepts the game, the betrothal is regarded 583 as concluded. As soon as the youth moves to the encampment of 591 his father-in-law, the marriage is regarded as concluded. He [585] must work for a year for his father-in-law and deliver all hunting spoils to him, but he may not enter the hut of his parents-in-law. Once the first child is born, he moves with wife and child to his kin group.

585 535 Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report on the conclusion of a

● [113]

2. Von Zastrow and Vedder, "Die Buschmänner," p. 417, in Schultze-Ewarth, Das Eingeborenenrecht, Vol. II.

marriage:

"There is much dancing. The animal dances have a pervasive erotic element. In one of the first dances the bridegroom

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
852 for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung
[142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
[845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away
853 with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
[114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

[113]

1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, op. cit., p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

[30 cont.] VON ZASTROW
113 and Vedder (1) report further:

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Buschmänner, pp. 412-413.

843 754 "It is absolutely against the rules to do anything by word or deed to the pregnant woman that might make her angry. Her evil eye in this period is especially dangerous; her angry word or her curse has an even worse effect. Sores, illness, protracted suffering, and death are the consequences of the evil eye or the curse of a pregnant woman.

844 "It is customary to sever the umbilical cord with an instrument only when the blood no longer pulsates. The umbilical cord is not tied off. The afterbirth must be carefully and secretly buried. The life of the child would be greatly endangered if an animal found it or if a feared sorcerer could appropriate a piece of it."

881 As soon as the girls have their first menstruation (/n) (2),

2. Female genitalia (/n-i).

a celebration takes place, but in this tribe I was unable to learn any of the details. On this occasion, the women dance, clap their hands, and sing, "giriri, giriri, giriri, uhu, giriri uhu," and so forth.

Men may not be present at this celebration. In a Hei//om horde neighboring the !Kung, spirits are appealed to in all directions on the occasion of this celebration, so that the girl, as an adult, will find veldkost everywhere.

The existence of a true initiation for boys is denied (3).

[114] [124] 3. On this point I was either misunderstood or told a falsehood.

There is merely a kind of testing; an older man goes with the candidate or candidates on a hunting expedition. Under the supervision of the older person, the candidate must kill a specimen of large game. The animal is then brought to the sacred fire, at which the

[34 cont.]

312 624 Concerning other water-containing trees, F. Seiner reports:

"The water-containing trees always have two or more trunks, and the source of the water is to be sought up where the branches fork. If the saddle formed where the branches separate shows a hole, a hollow area is traced in the adjoining part of the trunk, which may contain up to 60 liters of water. The water is obtained by tying, Bushman fashion, a small bundle of dry grass, or better still, a handkerchief, to the tip of a stick and inserting it in the hollow. When the stick is drawn out, the water drips

Fig. 1. !Kung at a Bushman Well.

from the saturated bundle or cloth, which is pressed out over a cup. [Fig. 2 appears here.]

[35] "The most important water roots are the Asclepiadacea Fockea damarana Schltr. (ehoe), the Leguminosa

[532] [224]

Fig. 2. //Gauab drives the game toward the hunters (from Kühn and Obermann, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art]). [113]

[35 cont.]

312 Dolichos seineri Harms (eona), and the Convolvulacea Ipomoea
824 seineri Pilger (eawa); the enormous tubers of the latter two may weigh up to 150 kilograms. Considerably more important for the natives than these 'water roots' is the Curcurbitacea Citrullus naudinianus Hook. (orura of the Herero; gab of the Hottentot); without their juicy gourds, which occur in great quantities and for the most part are edible, most of the central Kalahari would be impassable during the dry season, even for the Bushmen."

Further, F. Galton (1) reports:

● C113) 1. F. Galton, Tropisches Südafrika, p. 101.

312 "In practice, the first hopeful sign when people are look-
825 ing around for water is a flight of guinea fowl; next, following the habits of the land, each tree is carefully examined until a parrot is sighted, an object visible even at a great distance because the bird likes to sit on the uppermost branches. A parrot is rarely more than half an hour away from water, and the same applies to baboons. If one proceeds with careful observation and takes a probable direction, he will see doves flying about; then little birds are found in all the bushes, and they are close to it."

10. The Veldkost

222 Just as //Gauab accompanies the hunter on the chase, he is
776 also the companion of the women who go to look for veldkost. If //Gauab takes delight in a woman, he will break the bones of an animal, killing it, and will lead the woman to it. If, however, //Gauab is angry at a woman and she finds no veldkost, then she becomes angry, gets up early in the morning, abuses //Gauab, and then takes medicine and washes her face so that //Gauab will not recognize her. Then she goes into the veld and finds something.
[782] //Gauab receives no offerings from the veldkost. The celebration
222 of the first fruits of the veld described by Vedder is no longer held.
[887] The oldest woman is brought to eat samples of each type of veldkost that is brought home for the first time in the year. Then the second oldest woman takes a taste, and so on down the line.

[58 cont.]

775 From there they make their rounds. They always return to their
769 graves. Hence, a Bushman always makes a detour around a grave. He does not point at a grave with his finger, and he does not call to a companion: 'There is a grave!' A great detour is made around the area where there is a grave. When a Bushman unexpectedly passes a grave, he puts a stone on it. That is a greeting for the dead person. In so doing, one makes the grave more secure against wild animals."

769 From the region of Foxhof I have the following informa-
775 tion to add:

"The Gauab that arises from the flesh of the corpse remains seated by the grave. When a relative passes by and the Gauab is sitting out in the open, the Gauab thinks: I know this person well; why is he passing by here without giving me any water. Then the Gauab becomes angry and makes him sick. Then when the doctors sing, they recognize what the trouble is and say: Today you passed by the grave of N. and did not give anything. Tomorrow morning very early you must take water and an ostrich egg and place them by the grave. Such a Gauab also goes hunting, kills game, makes a fire, cuts open the game, takes the fat, and brings it to the doctors while they are singing. The Gauab, whom the other people cannot see, sits down at some distance from the dancers. The doctor sees him, however, and goes to the Gauab. The latter tells him where the game lies, and the doctor tells this to the other people, who fetch the game and praise the Gauab.

775 "The stars are the campfires of the Gauab.

"The Gauana take the souls that they have stolen to their village and then back to the grave. The people often hear a voice in the veld; this is the Gauab calling, and on their way they find a piece of dead game. When the Gauab is out hunting and has gone too far from his grave, he must sleep in a tree. Some of the souls stolen by the Gauab are brought to the captain of the Gauana. The souls that are taken there again become actual persons up above with the captain of the rain. The others, however, are the little Gauab who go hunting here."

(114) The observations made by Bleek (3) 50 years ago seem to
776 be especially significant.

3. W. H. J. Bleek and L.C.Lloyd,

(113)

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain ǂ'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 [534] The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In accompaniment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 769 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tĭ ǂ'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ǂnu /kôã (to live in health).

774 825 775 171 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards, and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will

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1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bush-
[285] men in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]

Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in
[113] South Africa, 1910.)

322 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight
411 little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

[62 cont.]

293 Like the prehistoric Bushmen, these people, too, wear forehead bands, into which the arrows are stuck during the hunt.

726 754 Dornan (p. 139) reports that the Kalahari Bushmen hold dances before the start of a war, and on these occasions they shoot little poisoned arrows from equally small bows in the direction of the enemy or of the sun. They believe that in so doing they are killing the shadow spirit of the enemy. They do not like to give these miniature bows and arrows to anyone because they are afraid that they might come into the possession of their enemies and thus bring about their own deaths.

226 Fishing is still quite well developed among the Masarwa people. Stone walls are sometimes built in the river, in which weir-baskets are set, or they sit in the river bed next to one another with weir-baskets, while women and children drive the fish toward them. In smaller waterholes, grass and brush are piled up on one side. Then the Bushmen step into the water and push the grass wall ahead of them, thus driving the fish into a corner. Individual fish are also speared with the assagai. According to Hodson, the best fishermen are the Bakoba Bushmen on the Okovanggo. They have harpoons and rush nets that are drawn diagonally across the river.

278 G. A. Farini (3) had an opportunity to observe the

• [113] 3. G. A. Farini, Durch die Kalahariwüste [Through the Kalahari Desert], Leipzig, 1886.

manufacture of arrow poison in the Chanse Veld. The men gathered at a certain place; women were not allowed to be present. The sap was removed from about 30 to 40 poisonous bulbs by means [535] of successive incisions and was collected in a pan. As each incision was made, the Bushmen danced in a circle, making a kind of grunt. Then a hyena hide was spread out with the hair side down, and on it was spread the contents of the bags that contained the dried heads of poisonous snakes, as well as two pieces of reed approximately 15 centimeters long. Then a number of freshly killed poisonous snakes were brought. The poison sacs were removed amidst singing and the clapping of hands. Meanwhile the pan containing the poison had been put on the fire and was boiling;

[63 cont.]
764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

●[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [173] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

MASARWA OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals, from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo delta, J. Seiner reports:

"The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting. The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease, AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

OKOVONGGO BOSHMEN
NOG AU

[65 cont.]

and racial mixture is progressing rapidly. The Bugakwe live in five villages with 220 persons in the western Okovanggo Valley down from the Mahango ford and are in bondage to Libebe, with whom, however, they frequently have quarrels over the amount of deliveries; on the occasion of one such dispute in June, 1905, a Mambukuschu was killed by an arrow. The Garikwe live in eight villages with 430 souls in eastern Ärmellande from the Paliba Swamp to the beginning of the valley, while the Goekwe live in southern Ärmellande west of the river course. Concerning the latter, I found only a winter village with 90 souls, and that north of the mouth of the Namassere on a river island.

"The Goekwe might well be identical with Passarge's Gokwe, whose territory extends from the western edge of the Tauche swampland deep into the Kaukau Veld; the Tschorilo Mountains belong to them. During the rainy season the Tannekwe undertake hunting expeditions in the neighboring steppes. The Hukwe, whose number I estimate at at least 600, are less racially mixed than the Tannekwe, but likewise live in settled villages, from which during the dry season they swarm out in family groups to gather or hunt in the forest steppe as the need arises."

Chapter 8

The Nogau Bushmen of Epukiro

During my stay in the mission station of Epukiro, I had an opportunity for closer contact with the Bushmen who live in a kind of symbiosis with the Betschuana (2). They call themselves Nogau,

2. I have given a detailed report on the Europeanized Betschuana village of Epukiro in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 65 (1933).

specifically ǂno /gna !khou, that is, people who live by the water. They are farther north of the Omuramba Epukiro toward Alexeck. North of them are the Gai-kwe, and the !Kung are farther east and

[68 cont.]

142 Racially, these Bushmen are smaller and lighter in color than
144 those of the north and show the admixtures of the southern Bushman
race to a much greater degree. There is constant coming and go-
648 ing in this region. Seiner (1) reports the following:

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1. J. Seiner, "Der Verbindungsweg zwischen Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika und der Betschuanalandeisenbahn [The Line of Communication between German Southwest Africa and the Bechuanaland Railway]," Globus, Vol. 96, 1910.

"The Bushmen from around Rietfontein are friendly to the Germans and repeatedly supplied the station garrison with effective help against the Herero and Ovambandjeru passing through. At the time of my stay in January and February, 1907, there was a small village of the Au-nin, who belong to Passarge's Kaukau people, one kilometer north of the barracks, and a village of the Ai-khoe, whom Passarge includes among the Ngami people, one and a half kilometers southwest of the station. The Bushmen of the latter village were subject to the Au-nin, who called them Naru (subordinates, slaves). Since in June, 1908, Dr. Pöch found only Au-nin in Rietfontein, it would seem that the Ai-khoe, in the meantime had emigrated or were driven out by the Au-nin."

To some extent all these tribes represent a cultural unit. A
[184] 114 fine study by First Lieutenant Kaufmann (2) is available for the

[113]

2. Kaufmann, "Die ǂAu-in, "Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1910.

ǂAuin, and one by D.F.Bleek (3) for the Naron. I shall now compare

[113]

3. D.F.Bleek, "The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari," Publications of the School of African Life and Language, Cambridge, 1928.

these tribes with one another, and it is to be understood that only the data concerning the Nogau are my own.

[75 cont.]

9. Hunting

224 Even today the western Kalahari has fairly abundant game, and life can be maintained at least to some extent by hunting. Before going to hunt, a tamana fruit (tse) is rubbed on the face. They also try to absorb the powers of the game by means of inoculation. For example, when a duiker has been killed, little pieces of the heart and ear are charred. This animal charcoal is then rubbed into an incision on the upper arm. Both in war and
[202] hunting, people communicate by means of smoke signals. The chief hunting weapon [76] is the bow with the poisoned arrow.
278 The poison (1) is obtained from the cocoons of a beetle larva that

(113)

1. Lewin has devoted several studies to Bushman poisons ("Pfeilgifte der Buschmänner [Arrow Poisons of the Bushmen]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 44, 1912).

"When I was permitted to examine the first arrows armed with poison that Lichtenstein had brought home from his journey in the year 1806 and which are kept in the Museum for Ethnology here, I was able to establish that there is alkaloid in the poison, which initially had stimulating, and later paralyzing effects on spine and brain. Because of the small quantity of the material, nothing further could be determined, except for a curious color reaction that the alkaloid isolated from the poison produced with concentrated sulphuric acid.

"I have now succeeded in producing from the bulb of Haemanthus toxicarius, the 'poison bulb' of the old Dutch colonists, the most active ingredient, an alkaloid which chemically and toxically

[76 cont.]

278

corresponds to the active ingredient of the poison taken from the arrow. I gave it the name Haemanthin.

"After the subcutaneous injection of animals with the water soluble albumin isolated from Blepharida larvae six to seven milimeters long, disturbances of movement set in fairly rapidly. Food is no longer taken. It makes doves vomit, and, like rabbits, they also get diarrhea. They become quiet, they huddle motionless, and their eyelids, which for a time move almost ceaselessly, finally are affected by the lethargy or inability to move. The eyes are closed. The animals then fall into a sleep-like state and perish, but commonly only after many hours of difficult breathing. Dissection shows changes in the kidney."

A survey of the poisonous plants of South Africa has been supplied by J. M. Watt. In South Africa over five hundred species are used as medicinal plants, and 150 are regarded as dangerous poisonous plants. Most of the poisonous plants known to date have an effect like digitalis. The old arrow-poison plants of the Bushmen, Acokanthera venenata and A. spectabilis, which have been examined in greater detail by Moir, Lewis, and Curson, also belong to this category. It is striking that the poison has an extraordinary chemical and physical stability. For poisoning per os, Boweia volubilis is commonly used by the natives.

[137]

Literature: J.M.Watt, M.B., "The Present Position of our Knowledge of South African Medicinal and poisonous Plants,"

●[113]

[68 cont.]

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[76 cont.]

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South African Journal of Science, Vol. 25, 1928.

J. Moir, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VII, 1924, p. 28.

J. Moir and J. Lewis, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VIII, 1925, p. 11.

H. H. Curson, Some Little-known South African Poisonous Plants and their Effects in Stock. Thesis for Diploma of F.R.C.V.S., 1926.

278 lives on the roots of an acacia. The Bushman carries several of these cocoons around with him, like cartridges, in an antelope horn. If the arrow tip is to be poisoned, a fire is made, some of the acacia resin that the Bushman always carries is smeared on the arrow tip, and then a cocoon is broken and its contents rubbed on the tip. On one occasion one of my Bushmen had overlooked a small wound on his thumb, through which the poison penetrated into his blood stream. The penetration of the poison was not very painful; he merely had a feeling "as though warm water was penetrating into his flesh." The arm was considerably swollen for a week. The others made numerous incisions and scarifications with glowing sticks on him in order to save him.

[7.52]

[262] The flesh of the animal killed in this way is eaten raw, poisonous.

278 Von François (2) reports that the Hei//om of this region

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2. Von François, "Reiseberichte Windhuk-Gobabis [Travel Report, Windhoek-Gobabis]," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, V., 1892.

prepare their poison from the milky sap of the Apocynacea adenium Boehmianum. When exposed to the sun, it first becomes violet and then black. It is kept in little leather sacks and in case of need is warmed and mixed with the sap of the Habas root and applied to the arrow tips with flat sticks. These Bushmen still used grooved stones to direct the arrow shaft.

[411]

[78 cont.]

it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

[79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ǂAuin there are magical bones that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

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Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship'[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2]

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Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

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Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ba siŋ* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsau* for Br. We did not hear *||gi*, nor *soiŋ||gi*, nor *tsa* as a prefix to *siŋ*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */ku* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsau||gi*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsau||gi*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

[113] ●

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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PERIODICAL ABBREVIATIONS

113

Afr. - Africa: journal of the International Institute of African languages and Culture. London.
Afr. Mthly - African Monthly. Grahamstown (ceased publication in 1910)
Afr. Stud. - African Studies: Quarterly journal devoted to the study of African administration, cultures and languages (being the continuation of Bantu Studies which ended with vol. XV, 1941) University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
Anthrop. - Anthropos: revue internationale d'ethnologie et de linguistique. Fribourg.
L'Anthrop - L'Anthropologie. Paris.
Archiv für Anth. - Archiv für Anthropologie: Zeitschrift für Naturgeschichte und Urgeschichte der Menschen. Braunswig.
B. Stud. - Bantu Studies: a journal dedicated to the scientific study of Bantu, Hottentot and Bushmen now African Studies. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
Bol. Soc. Geog. de Lisboa - Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. Lisbon.
Fort Hare Pap. - Fort Hare Papers. University of Fort Hare, Alice.
Geog. - Geografia: revue d'informations et d'actualites geographiques sous l'egide de la societe de geographie.
Globus - Globus: illustrierte Zeitschrift für Landes- und Völkerkunde; merged into Petermanns Mitteilungen. Brunswick.
Huisgenoot: geillustreerde weekblad. Cape Town.
Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst. - Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. London.
Man - Man: a monthly record of anthropological science. London.
Mitt. deuts. Schutz. - Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, mit Benutzung amtlicher Quelle. Berlin.
Mitt. anth. Gesel in Wien. - Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Vienna.
Nada - Nada, the Southern Rhodesian Native Affairs Department Annual. Salisbury.
Petermanns Mitt. - Petermanns Mitteilungen. Brunswick.
Rhod. Sc. Ass. Proc. - Rhodesian Scientific Association proceedings. Salisbury.
S. Afr. Geog. Jour. - South African Geographical journal. Johannesburg.
S. Afr. Jour. Sci. - South African journal of science. Johannesburg.
S.A.M.A.B. - South African museums bulletin, Cape Town.
Sc. et vie. - Science et vie. Paris.
Socio. - Sociologus: Zeitschrift für empirische Sociologie, sozialpsychologische und ethnologische Forschung. Berlin.
Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Afr. - Transactions of the Royal Society of S. Africa supersedes Transactions of the Philosophical Society of S. Africa. Cape Town.
Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc. - Transactions of the South African Philosophical Society, Cape Town.
Umschau - Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik. Frankfurt am Main.
Z. für Eingeb-spr - Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen, now Afrika und Uebersee. Hamburg.
Z. für Ethn. - Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin.
Z. für Kol. Spr. - Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen.

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

PREFACE

The Bushmen of Southern Africa are today represented by scattered groups of hunters on the plains of the Kalahari and on the farms of South West Africa and Angola. They are a unique and mysterious people and have attracted the attention of numerous writers since the early settlers at the Cape first made contact with the Sonquas. In this Bibliography an attempt has been made to list most aspects of the culture of the Bushmen. A bibliography on rock art was compiled in 1947, thus only a few items appear on this subject. Those included are of interest because they suggest some facet of culture or culture history. Some items are predominently of a physical anthropological nature but contain sufficient ethnological information to justify their inclusion.

The items are arranged in alphabetical order under broad subject headings and an Author-Title index has been provided. The section entitled History, was included because it was felt that the earliest references to Bushmen at the Cape and later in the interior, are of interest, in creating a picture of the life and customs of the extinct groups of Bushmen. The history of the tragic clashes between the Bushmen and other races which led to their extinction in most of Southern Africa, is traced in such historical works as J. Sutherland, Memoir respecting the Kaffirs Hottentots and Bosjesmans of South Africa and Donald Moodie, The Record

The main body of the Bibliography is devoted to the ethnology of the Bushmen and here are included items by authors, some of whom are not ethnologists but whose work is of sufficient value to allow its inclusion in this section. The items included in the small section entitled Bushman Folklore, include popularised versions of the work of Dorothea Bleek and Lucy C. Lloyd. The section on Linguistics is purely restricted to works available in Johannesburg and no attempt has been made to obtain works by the Portuguese students of the Bushmen or other foreign linguistic studies. This can therefore claim to be no more than a token coverage of a field, in which a vast amount of work has been and still is, being done. The section entitled General, contains work not sufficiently scientific to be included under Ethnology, yet of interest, often because of their excellent illustrations. This section begins with works published after 1900 and works of a similar nature published before this date, appear in History.

Sources. Mendelssohn, South African Bibliography provided some of the older items. Many of the older periodical references were traced through the bibliography in - I. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples of South Africa and the Johannesburg Public Library's Index to South African Periodicals was also used. A list of periodical abbreviations indicates the sources consulted. Periodical titles were written out in full when they appeared only once.

Brief annotations are given in some cases. Page references and an indication of contents, have been provided for some of the older items which do not contain an index.

My sincere thanks are due to Prof. L.F. Maingard, Prof. M.G. Marwick, and Mr. C. B. Silberbauer for their valuable advice, to Prof. Manuel Guerreiro for kindly sending material on the Portuguese contribution to Bushman Studies, of which I could include only a very small number, and to Prof. P.V. Tobias for so kindly allowing me access to his bibliography on cards in the Anatomy Department.

[P.1]

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Vol. 1 p. 237-238 Bushman method of fishing
p. 241-242 Bushman encampment
Encounter with a group of Bushmen
p. 281-292 Hunting, poison, clothing etc.
Vol. 2 p. 18-25 Dress, customs etc, a Bushman dance
p. 113-118 Belief about a peculiar snake: conversation with a Bushman
p. 123-125 Bushman religious beliefs
p. 114-147 Ostrich hunting in disguise
p. 227-228 Bushman beliefs about snakes

2. ALMEIDA, Antonio de
Dos Bosquimanos e Hottentotes na Historia en na ciencia. illus. bib. Bol Soc. Geog. Lisboa. 72a (4-6): 191-215. Apr.-June, 1954.

Portuguese said to be first Europeans with whom the Hottentots and Bushmen came into contact. English summary.

3. ANDERSON, Andrew A
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p. 212-215 Bushmen
p. 227 Meeting with Bush-Koranna group
p. 228-236 Kalahari types

4. ANDERSSON, Charles John
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p. 143 Effect of Bushman arrow poison
p. 150-151 Bushmen described

5. ARBOUSSET, Thomas
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p. 479-526 Bushman social life and customs, language

6. BACKHOUSE, James
A narrative of a visit to the Mauritius and South Africa. London, 1844. 648 p. illus. 113

Contains numerous references to the Bushman, their dress, customs, huts, methods of hunting etc.

p. 435 Arrow poison, clothing, knapsacks
p. 444-445 A Bushman village described

7. BARROW, John
A narrative of travels in the interior of Southern Africa, from the Cape of Good Hope to Graaf-Reinet and the countries of the Kaffirs, Boajimans, Namaquas etc. performed in the years 1797 and 1798 by John Barrow Esq. late Secretary to the Earl of Macartney. London, 1802. 80 p. illus.

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p. 74-82 The Bushman race

10. CASALIS, Eugene
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Through the Kalahari desert: a narrative of a journey with gun, camera and note-book to Lake N'gami and back. London, 1886. 475 p. illus.

p. 252-256 Bushmen
p. 330-332 Hunting ostriches in disguise
p. 341-348 Collecting honey, making of tsamma "beer".

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p. 164, 166-168, 172-174 Bushmen's use of traps and pits in hunting, superstitions regarding horned snakes. 113

15. GODDFE-MOLSBERGEN, E.C. ed.
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The present state of the Cape of Good Hope: or a particular account of the several nations of the Hottentots; their religion, government, laws, customs, ceremonies and opinions; their art of war, professions, language, genius etc. together with a short account of the Dutch Settlement at the Cape written originally in High German by Peter Kolben, done into English from the original by Mr. Medley. London, 1621. 2 vols.

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19. LICHTENSTEIN, Henry
Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806: a reprint of the translation from the original German by Anne Plumtre. Cape Town, 1930. 2 vols.

Contains descriptions of the social life, customs and art of the Bushmen, use of "swimming logs" for crossing rivers described, the language of Bushmen and Hottentots discussed. [501]

The index refers the reader to other references on the Bushmens and their way of life.

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Ten years north of the Orange river: a story of everyday life and work among the South African tribes from 1859-1869 Edinburgh, 1871.

p. 128-142
p. 490-493 The Bushman language
p. 509-513 Contact with Europeans

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p. 20 ff., 27,31,49 Bushmen

22. MAINGARD, L.F.
The first contact of the Dutch with the Bushmen until the time of Simon van der Stel (1686) S.Afr. Jour. Sci. 32: 479-487 N. 1935.

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A complete and authentic geographical and topographical description of the famous and (all things considered) remarkable, African, Cape of Good Hope... translated from the original German by G.V. Marais and Dr. T. Hodge. Rev. and ed. by H. J. Mandelbrote. Cape Town, 1944. originally published in 1787. Part 3 vol. 2 of German ed. 113

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p. 308-309, 330, 332, 334 Battles between Bushman and settlers described

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Missionary Labours and scenes in Southern Africa. London, 1842. 624 p. illus.

p. 6-14 Origin and history of the Bushmen
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The journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) with an English translation by A.W. van der Horst, and The journals of Jacobus Coetsé Jansz (1760) and William van Reenen (1791) with an English translation by Dr. E.E. Mossop. Cape Town, 1935.
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p. 77-80 Pringle believed the Bushman to have originally been a pastoral people. Commandos against them described. [104]

29. SHAW, Barnabas
Memorials of Southern Africa by Barnabas Shaw, Wesleyan missionary resident in the country nearly twenty years. London, 1834. 346 p.

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30. SPARRMAN, André
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Vol.1 p.259-272 Bushmen, their poisoned arrows, huts
Vol.2 p.206-209
Vol.3 p 4-9

31. STEEDMAN, Andrew
Wanderings and adventures in the interior of Southern Africa. London, 1835. 2 vols. illus.

Vol.1 p.104-113 Atrocities, commando system
p.147-150 Description of appearance, arrow poison, weapons
Vol.2 p. 22-26 Use of rafts for swimming
p. 48-52 Huts, superstitions on thunder

32. SUTHERLAND, Lieut-Col. J.
Memoir respecting the Kaffirs, Hottentots and Bosjemans of South Africa. Cape Town, 1845. 2 vols.

Vol.2 p.589-712 Bushmen

33. SUTHERLAND, Lieut-Col. J.
Original matter contained in Lt.-Col. Sutherland's memoirs respecting the Kaffirs, Hottentots and Bosjemans of South Africa ... commentaries and notes on the text used in the compilation of the memoirs. Cape Town, 1847. 580 p.

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Ethnography and condition of South Africa before A.D. 1505: being a description of the inhabitants of the country south of the Zambesi and Kunene rivers in A.D. 1505. Together with all that can be learned from ancient documents, books and modern research of the condition of South Africa, from the earliest times until its discovery by Europeans. London, 1910. 466 p. illus.

35. THEAL, George McCall
History and ethnography of Africa south of the Zambesi from the settlement of the Portuguese at Sofala in September 1505 to the conquest of the Cape Colony by the British in September 1795. London, 1907. 3 vols. illus. maps.

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p.273 The Commando system attacked
p.387-406 Relation between Bushmen and farmers in the Roggeveld
p.421-424 Bushman dances. Their notion of number

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p. 325-341 Mission to the Bushman. Gives a description of their way of life but none of their beliefs

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p. 1-23 Mission to the Bushman by Kitchener

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Simon van der Stel's journal of his expedition to Namaqualand, 1685-1686 ed. from the MSS in the library of Trinity College Dublin by Gilbert Waterhouse. Dublin, 1932. 183 p. illus.

Contains references to contact with the Bonquas

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Journal edited with introduction and footnotes by H.B. Thom. Cape Town, 1952. 3 vols. frontis. map.

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Some ethnological questions affecting Rhodesia

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Descrizione di un Boscimano del Sud Africa.

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!Kung

622
562 refer to one woman as a "headman"), nor does her husband. A headman's daughter, as it were, holds the place until her son is born to fill it. Primogeniture would be in force: the eldest daughter's son would take precedence over a younger daughter's son. If a daughter's husband is an effective person by nature, he could lead the band and perform the functions of headman indefinitely. The band, on the other hand, might find it more advantageous not to wait for a son to be born to the headman's daughter but to realign itself under another headman. Within the proper frame of kinship this is a voluntary matter.

782
539 (11) I paraphrase some of the prayers as follows:

"You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you lead me in the wrong way so that I find no animals?"

"Give rain, *!Nau*, wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water hole where there is no more veldkos. You have favored some people with rain. Will you not favor us?"

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B-H 113

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